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CHAPTER 2

The second wave of colonialism as a possible stumbling block on the way to human and environmental development in the global south: Citizenship education to step into the breach

J L van der Walt

Research Fellow

Edu-HRight Research Focus Area

Faculty of Education

North-West University, South Africa

Abstract

After the first wave of colonisation (15th to mid-20th century) had somewhat subsided towards the second half of the 20th century, a new wave of colonisation swept over the Global South. This second wave, driven by the forces of globalisation and neoliberalism, has created much controversy among scholars of the Global South. The purpose of this chapter is to depict the second wave of colonialism as a possible stumbling block to human and environmental development in the Global South and then consider the possibility of calling upon citizenship education and Citizenship Education to overcome this obstacle.

Keywords: *colonisation, Global South, neoliberalism, neocapitalism, globalisation, controversy, scholars, human*

development, environmental development, second wave, stumbling block, citizenship education, citizenship

2.1 Introduction and problem statement

Education that alienates children from their indigenous cultural and social values, and from their own natural environment and commodities, cannot be effective because it makes them unfit for contributing to the quality of life in their own communities. The cultural landscape in which children find themselves is, according to Holm (2020: 2), “a body of knowledge that serves to support survival”. Cultural, social, moral and economic alienation has arguably been taking place in the Global South in recent decades as a result of both subtle and “direct neo-colonial interference by Western imperial powers” (Vanyoro, 2019: 2/4). This is a meaningful observation, given the fact that 80% of the world’s population currently live in low- and medium-income countries (where the national income is less than \$12 500 [R225 000] per person per year), where the vast majority of their inhabitants are under 25 years old (Raworth, 2022: 254). Furthermore, Holm (2020: 3) has observed that people (learners) in the Global South find themselves in cultural, linguistic, moral and economic spaces where their development of identity and history is often marginalised by the dominant Western – neoliberal — discourse. The price theory associated with (neo)capitalism, for instance, overlooks the fact that some things, such as the relationships that people have traditionally managed with morals, can be put in jeopardy when these are given a price (Raworth, 2022: 118).

The following is a recent example of how a neoliberal approach to education has not only failed but also put learners in jeopardy. An

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experiment in Colombia, where parents were paid for allowing their children to attend school, failed because, as Raworth (2022: 120) notes, “money ... played a role in eroding social norms, such as student pride and parental responsibility, by replacing [social and moral norms] with market norms, such as payment for effort and reward for compliance”. It is, therefore, a questionable practice to apply Global North or neoliberal market norms to cultural, social, moral and economic life, and specifically to education in the Global South. The application of Western market norms to life in the Global South may lead to the destruction of the traditional social contracts in the Global South, as market values can crowd out non-market pedagogical norms and practices that are worth caring about in the Global South.

Navaneeta Majumder (2021), assistant professor at the GLS Law School in Ahmedabad, India, may not be the first to draw attention to the effects of the “second wave of colonisation” that has, in recent years, been felt in the Global South and has resulted in what she calls a “unique paradigm war”, but her diagnosis of the problem seems to be very much to the point. This is how she sees the problem that the Global South is currently facing as a second wave of colonialism:

Since the late 20th century, it can be seen that the process of globalization is changing the rules of games and shaping indigenous vision and perspective vis-à-vis the dominant Western economic paradigm. ... economic globalisation [has now] become a form of colonial domination by the erstwhile empires, just with a different nomenclature (Majumder, 2021: 3)

After the first wave of colonisation (15th to mid-20th century) had somewhat subsided towards the second half of the 20th century, a “paradigm war” has, according to Majumder (2021), ensued between two sets of widely different cultural values. According to Pochedly (2016: 31), this struggle has been going on for a much longer time – at least 500 years. Judged by the utterances of proponents on both sides of this “paradigm war”, there seems to be an unbridgeable chasm between them. The two sides referred to are, on the one hand, those in the Global South who regard themselves as being on the receiving end of the negative impact of these waves of colonisation and, on the other, those who seem to regard these waves of colonialism as historical epochs that people, also those in the Global South, have to cope with.

My purpose in doing the research leading to this chapter was to listen to the arguments on both sides of this divide and to arrive at a conclusion about the status of this controversy, specifically about the implications thereof for citizenship education.¹ I had to keep in mind that the situation was, and still is, emotionally charged, especially on the part of the previously colonised (due to the effects of the first wave) in the Global South (Africa, Asia and Latin America, in particular). The discussion below will reveal some of the emotions that are at play, even now, after previously colonised countries and communities have gained their independence from

¹ “Citizenship Education”, written with capital letters, refers to the school subject; written in lower case, it refers to the broader academic subject field.

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their colonial masters. In some cases, emotions about the first wave of colonisation still surface when authors articulate their views about the second wave of colonialism that has been driven by the forces of globalisation and neoliberalism or neocapitalism.

The second wave of colonialism has many ethical and pedagogical implications. For instance, should those in the Global South adopt and pursue values associated with neoliberalism or capitalism and globalism, that is, values that are Western, educated, industrialised, rich and democratic (Raworth, 2022: 103-105; cf. Le Grange, 2023), or should they, instead, strive to revive (what has remained of) their indigenous value systems? Do those in the Global South find themselves caught in an 'either or conundrum', or should they work towards a workable mix of Western (Global North) values and their own indigenous values, which they hope to revive and pursue? Can a compromise be reached between Global North (Western) and Global South values that could serve as a basis for a new approach to citizenship education and Citizenship Education? The purpose of this chapter is to depict the second wave of colonialism (neoliberal capitalism), in particular, as a possible stumbling block on the way to human and environmental development in the Global South and to consider the possibility of employing citizenship education and the school subject Citizenship Education for the purpose of overcoming this obstacle.

I use this chapter to pursue the following line of argumentation. The first step is to give, in the form of background sketches, accounts of the two waves of colonialism, followed by an outline of the positions on the two sides of the divide, as delineated above. I reflect on the arguments associated with each side and then

explore the possibilities of bridging the gap between the two sides with a compromise, among other things, on the basis of a Biblical anthropology and view of education. I conclude the chapter by teasing out a number of implications of the suggested solution for citizenship education and Citizenship Education in both hemispheres, thereby attempting to indicate how citizen education and Citizenship Education could step into the breach to help overcome the second wave of colonialism which is currently experienced by the citizens of the Global South as a stumbling block to education, and hence, to human and environmental development.

For the purposes of constructing this chapter, I resorted to the combined method of interpretivism-constructivism. In the interpretive phase, I analysed, interpreted and evaluated an array of depictions, descriptions and critiques of the two waves of colonialism as a possible stumbling block to human and environmental development in the Global South (see Thanh & Thanh, 2015: 24; also, Tarnas, 2010: 360). The constructivist phase of the study consisted, *inter alia*, of suggesting the above-mentioned compromise and calling upon citizenship education and Citizenship Education to step into the breach, thereby not only making more sense of the situation (Haddadi, Hosseini, Johansen & Olsson, 2017: 1082) and creating “a new reality” for those living in the Global South (Duffy & Jonasson, 1992: 3) but also overcoming the said stumbling block.

2.2 The first wave of colonialism (15th to 20th centuries)

The roots of the first wave of colonialism lie far back into the past, in the ‘new’ parts of the world that the Europeans claimed to have

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‘discovered’ in the 15th century, especially in those parts of the globe nowadays referred to as the “Global South”. It is important for the unfolding of the argument in this chapter to understand right at the outset that the European colonists adhered to a quite different value system than the people whom they encountered and subsequently colonised. This fact is crucial not only for understanding the initial interaction between the colonists and the colonised, but also for understanding the impact of the second wave of colonialism since the 1960s, namely globalisation, neoliberalism and neocapitalism. The colonists of the first wave arrived in their future colonies with a predominantly Christian, Western, capitalist value system, one that was already heavily associated with a monetary economy (Friedman, 2022: *passim*). Many examples can be mentioned to show that the people of the Global South lived by other values than the capital- and monetary-based Western economic values, such as wealth, interest, productivity and profit making. The following four flashbacks to first encounters between Westerners and indigenous people in the ‘New World’ will suffice to make the point.

The Cree in northern Manitoba in the 19th century lived by a principle of sufficiency. In the hope of acquiring more furs from the Cree, the European traders whom they encountered during the Europeans’ explorations offered them higher prices for their furs. In response, the Cree brought fewer furs to the trading post, since, as far as they were concerned, a smaller number were henceforth needed to obtain the goods that they wanted in return from the traders (Raworth, 2022: 282). Their value system was patently different from that of the European traders.

Another example of how the two inherently different sets of values initially interacted is proffered in the diary of Henry Hudson, a naval officer, written on 3 September 1609 on the Dutch vessel *De Halve Maen* (The Halfmoon). On that day, he wrote, the inhabitants of the area known today as Manhattan, a suburb of New York, United States of America, came on board the ship. According to Hudson,

... these people were very happy to see [the Europeans]. They brought with them green tobacco that they wished to exchange for knives and beads. They wore well-prepared antelope skins, and yellow-copper decorations, and were well-behaved. They also had maize or mealies from which they prepared proper bread. (Mak, 2011: 56-57)

The next day, some of the sailors disembarked and met with the indigenous population, who treated them with tobacco, oak wood and berries – “very sweet and tasty” (Mak, 2011: 56-57). When the sailors returned to their ship on the Hudson River, some of them were wearing capes made of feathers or fur. Some of them had also received marijuana. The indigenous people wore decorations made of (red) copper around their necks and arms (Mak, 2011: 56-57). It is clear from this diary inscription that the indigenous people of what is today known as America did not conduct business in the capitalist-monetary sense of the Westerners.

The following historical snippet similarly illustrates how a commodity treasured for its intrinsic value by the indigenous people of South and Central America gained monetary value in a Western sense. For more than 4 000 years, the indigenous people in this part of the world farmed with *theobroma cacao*, the fruit

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from which chocolate is manufactured. According to Sampeck's (2023: 10) research, the people used it for bartering, using it as "small change", as it were. After their arrival in the 16th century, the Spanish colonists promptly legalised cacao as a lawful method of payment for all sorts of transactions, not only for barter. As a result of this change in the value of cacao, the Rio Ceniza valley (at the time known as Inzalcos) became famous as "the place where money grew on trees, and *where the colonists* could make a fortune" (Sampeck, 2023: 10, emphasis added).

A final example: In his book titled *De orbe novo* (1516), Peter Martyr d'Anghierra wrote, among other things, about the people encountered by the Spanish *conquistadores* in the New World. He wrote, as translated by MacNutt in 1912 of d'Anghierra's original Latin and cited here from MacNutt [2012 paperback edition] by Murray, 2022):

They go naked, they know neither weights nor measures, nor that source of all misfortunes, money; living in a golden age, without laws, without lying judges, without books, satisfied with their life, and in no wise solicitous for the future (Murray, 2022: 158).

This description, aptly depicted by Murray (2022: 158) as "almost comic", is correct in so far as the original inhabitants did not use money in the European sense of the word. The depiction is incorrect in that these people most likely calculated weight and measured according to their own standards, had laws and customs that governed life in their communities, and judges who adjudicated right and wrong, guilty and innocent, and while they

did not have books in the European sense, they had their own means of keeping records.

It is clear from these four cases that two different cultures, each with its own set of values, had come into contact and that the Western set of values has, ever since, become dominant. We now all live, as Raworth (2022: 182) observes, in a monoculture of money. From these first encounters between the different cultures, colonialism progressed slowly but surely. One of the following steps was for the colonists to appoint a person in the metropole (the colonising country) to manage the affairs of the owners (later on the settlers) in the fledgling colony. One of the jobs that the philosopher Thomas Hobbes had to perform for the Cavendish family in England, for instance, was to manage its financial affairs. The Cavendish family was an early shareholder in the London Virginia Company, one of the first enterprises that sought to systematically colonise what is today known as America. The efforts of these companies took the form of tiny steps to establish foothold colonies in the hope that they might survive from one winter to the other. Slowly but surely, bolder steps were taken until huge state-like companies, such as the South Sea Company, the British East India Company, the Dutch East India Company and the French East India Company (the last three for operations in the Far East), were established to manage the colonies. These companies gradually became the vehicles for large-scale imperial conquests (Runciman, 2022: 205). As a result of their conquests and through the work of missionaries, new global empires came into existence after the 1490s and lasted deep into the 20th century when many of these former colonies gained independence. The efforts of these companies and groups of settlers were

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occasionally supported by the military might of the colonising power.

This first wave of colonisation, according to Terreblanche (2014: 233), was driven by the classic mercantile-imperial trading pattern. An excellent example of this was the developmental approach that the imperialists followed after World War II: all the developments launched in the African colonies, for instance, were basically intended “to be to the advantage of the European metropole and the African periphery” (Terreblanche, 2014: 419).

The events described above constitute the first wave of colonialism. In the opinion of some observers, despite the fact that many of the former colonies gained independence in the mid-1960s, this wave has never really come to an end. King (2013: 3) avers that “settler colonial power and anti-Black racism” remain “an ongoing form of domination ... that requires the genocide of Native people in order for the settler to accumulate Native people’s land and turn the land into property”. King’s view ties in with that of Maldonado-Torres (2007: 243), who claimed, around two decades ago, that “coloniality is the myriad ways in which colonialism survives into the present, including social formations such as labour, culture and knowledge production”. According to Calderón (2014: 87), the colonial expansion of Europe across the globe “continues to shape how we understand the world, ... based on the often invisible foundation of [Western] metaphysics, ... the set of assumptions, systems of knowledge, and administrative forms derived from Europe”. Urrieta and Calderón (2019: 147) also speak of “enduring logics and practices that operate from different localities of power and violence that targeted [indigenous communities], including state and police violence, cultural

appropriation, economic exploitation, gender violence, social exclusion, and psychological abuse”.

2.3 The second wave of colonialism and its impact on the Global South

The neoliberal spirit and approach to commerce and trade emerged from an era of economic depression, world wars and cold war rivalry, and has been dominating economic thinking for more than 70 years (Raworth, 2022: 60). The economist Paul Samuelson drew up a 20th-century economic plan, but it was the Austrian economist Friedrich von Hayek, best known as the 1940s father of neoliberalism (Raworth, 2022: 7), and Milton Friedman who gave impetus to the programme. In 1947, the year before Samuelson published his Circular Flow economic diagram, a small number of economists, among them Friedrich von Hayek, Milton Friedman, Ludwig von Mises and Frank Night, gathered in the Swiss resort of Mont Pellerin to start drafting a new economic approach. Inspired by the pro-market writings of classic liberals such as Adam Smith and David Ricardo, they drafted what they referred to as a “neoliberal agenda”. Their aim gradually changed into a hard push for market fundamentalism. Their approach gained widespread approval after Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan teamed up to bring the neoliberal agenda to the international stage, including to the Global South, where it has, ever since, been framing the economic debate, just as in the Global North. Due to all these efforts, we now live “in a capitalist world-economy” – a world of global capitalism marked by an “ensemble of socio-cultural norms, attitudes and practices that can be traced to Renaissance and Enlightenment developments within

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Europe, and which culminated in a commitment to liberalism as the legitimising political philosophy of dominant states within an emergent inter-state system” (Raworth, 2022: 67). Many things in the modern Global South surroundings have their origins in the Global North and have been brought to the former colonies by the former colonising powers (Ali, 2016: 16, 17, 20).

The neoliberal approach is characterised by a near-ubiquitous business mindset. The search for gain has been the driving motive of the capitalist economy since it took off in Britain in the 19th century. It is focused on creating just one form of value – financial – for just one interest group – the shareholders. It is designed to fit in with corporate (business) interests, and its strategies are typically as follows: top-down, driven by large corporate interests, control over products, opaque thanks to patented materials and technologies, and fragmented within and across various large industries (Raworth, 2022: 227-228, 272). The key characteristic of the neoliberal approach to economics is the rational economic man with insatiable wants and desires, especially in Western countries that are, according to Raworth (2022: 282), “now the homelands of consumer society”.

As a result of the neoliberal approach, in hospitals and clinics worldwide, patients and doctors are now being referred to as customers and service providers, and learners (students) and teachers (professors and lecturers) are recast as clients or customers and service providers. In fields and forests on every continent, economists are now calculating the monetary value of “natural capital” and “ecosystem services”, ranging from the economic worth of the world’s wetlands to the global value of insect pollination services, the efficiency of the market, the

domesticity of the household, the tragedy of the commons, the portrait of the human being as “rational economic man” (*homo economicus*), supply and demand curves, wealth that lies in controlling land, enterprise, technology and knowledge, the power to create money and the stock of human capital (Raworth, 2022: 7, 28-29, 34, 35). Neoliberalism promotes discourses of individualism and meritocracy, thereby creating “productive spaces of capitalist ethics” (Zamora, 2016: 3, 22). In some cases, the “primitive racial other” can be “consumed and commodified” as a sign that progressive change is happening in society (Almeida & Kumalo, 2018: 4). Neoliberalism also brings a new (Global North) perspective of freedom, namely the view that true freedom is the freedom of choice according to the “liberated” individual, and more specifically, the individual’s freedom to consume. The application of market-driven policies in public spaces tends to alienate people further and further from authentic relationships with one another, as well as with the non-human parts of creation and the land (Pochedly, 2016: 55).

Even higher education has been coerced into pursuing excellence like a large business corporation and has, in the opinion of Godsell and Chikane (2016: 56), “become proud of its exclusivity, considering it an inevitable consequence of the pursuit of excellence” (also see Le Grange, 2023). At a deeper level, according to Garcia (2019: 10, 12), the dual process of colonialism and modernity has brought about the “systemic erasure” of the indigenous people, and the “elevation of colonial methodologies in the social sciences and the humanities at the expense of a diversity of epistemologies, worldviews and cosmologies” – a project “that has privileged a Eurocentric canon at the expense of

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non-European epistemologies and worldviews, ... a process reified through embedded philosophical assumptions of Eurocentric supremacy and universalism, ... through a deep entanglement of colonialism and capitalism". In brief, "disciplinary and neoliberal capitalism [are] the paired and entangled factors that have deepened in [the Global South] into a historical process of epistemic erasure" (Garcia (2019: 12). The traditional Western depiction of the human being has nature lying at his or her feet and at their disposal, with the human being trying to wrest a living from the earth by making the most efficient use of scarce resources. This view also frames the living world as a storehouse of "natural resources" (Raworth, 2022: 114).

The second wave of colonialism also entailed a land grab, mainly in the Global South, this time not by adventurous explorers or early settlers and with military force but with chequebooks and promises. During the past two decades, foreign investors have made more than 1 200 land deals in low- and middle-income countries, thereby acquiring around 43 million hectares of land. In the majority of cases, Raworth (2022: 181-182) avers, these deals were land grabs in the sense that they were signed without the free and prior consent of the indigenous communities that had inhabited and worked the land for generations. In many cases, according to Raworth (2022: 181-182), the so-called investors' promises to create new jobs, provide community infrastructure and teach the farmers new skills have come to nothing. The upshot of these deals is that many of the communities now find themselves dispossessed, dispersed and impoverished. Their lives have become characterised by resource wars, invasions, serious conflict among competitors, double-dealing, forced

removals, cultural and political assaults and extreme violence. Rivers have become contaminated, landscapes have been ruined (due to mining, for instance) and communities have been displaced (Majumder, 2021: 4). Bhabha (2004: xii) adds the following maladies to this already long list: unequal conditions of development that often mark “the ubiquitous, underlying factors of persistent poverty and malnutrition, caste and racial injustice, the hidden injuries of class, the exploitation of women’s labour, and the victimization of minorities and refugees”. No wonder, he concludes, that various forms of unhappy consciousness prevail among the neo-colonised, who feel threatened from all sides (Bhabha, 2004: xxxi).

The “neoliberal plot” that Hayek, Friedman and others hatched “has whipped us into a perfect storm of inequality, climate change and financial crash” (Raworth, 2022: 63). This development, combined with the effects of globalisation, worldwide communications and a dynamic global network-of-networks of human beings transmitting news, views, knowledge, data and advertisements (Raworth, 2022: 111), has brought the inhabitants of the Global South and their ecological, social and financial life and systems to the brink of collapse. Raworth (2022: 12) appropriately concludes as follows regarding the neoliberal approach to world issues up to now: “Humanity faces some formidable challenges, and it is in no small part thanks to the blind spots and mistaken metaphors of outdated economic thinking that we have ended up here.”

Let us now listen to the voices of the proponents on both sides – those against the adoption of Western globalisation and neoliberal values in the former colonies and those who defend these values

and feel aggrieved for being blamed for Global North values being imparted to the inhabitants of the Global South.

2.4 Voices opposing or rejecting the values associated with neoliberalism as a form of colonialism

According to the views reported in the previous two sections of this chapter, the first wave of colonialism has not yet truly dissipated, while a new wave of colonialism has risen in the meantime. The relationship between the two waves of colonialism can be likened to a relay race: the second leg begins by gradually taking over the baton from the previous runner. An excellent example of this handing-over of the baton is offered by Homi Bhabha (2004: xi), who writes that it is his purpose, almost half a century after the publication of Frantz Fanon's book *The wretched of the earth*, "to ask what might be saved from Fanon's ethics and politics of decolonization to help us reflect on globalization in our sense of the term". Bhabha is clearly trying to establish a connection between the first wave of colonialism and the second. He is careful, however, to only "search for associations and interactions" (Bhabha, 2004: xi), and not for analogies between the two waves of colonialism.

When resistance to the first wave was at its apex, the global aspirations of Global South 'national' thinking belonged to the internationalist traditions of socialism, Marxism and humanism, whereas the dominant forces of contemporary globalisation and neoliberalism tend to subscribe to free-market ideas that enshrine ideologies of technocratic elitism. And, finally, while it was the primary purpose of decolonisation, after the first wave of colonialism, to repossess land and territoriality in order to ensure

the security of national polity and global equity, globalisation and neoliberalism have been propagating a world made up of virtual transnational domains and wired communities that live vividly through webs and connectivities “on-line” (Bhabha, 2004: xi).

These words from Bhabha’s pen show that although it is possible to establish a connection between the two waves of colonialism, they differ qualitatively in that the first wave entailed colonialism by foreign powers (metropolises) and the second entails colonialism driven by globalisation, neoliberalism and neocapitalism. Although these two forms of colonialism differ in nature and quality, the second “has the feel of the colonial ruler”, according to Joseph Stiglitz, once senior vice-president and chief economist of the World Bank; hence, “a colonial shadow falls across the successes of globalization” (Bhabha, 2004: xii).

According to Majumder (2021), the new wave (paradigm) of colonialism has been laying another imperialistic layer on the yet-to-be-overcome previous colonial layer on the people of the Global South. While only a relatively small proportion of the earth’s population lives in societies that are Western, educated, industrialised, rich and democratic (Raworth, 2022: 103), their self-interested and paradigm of growth needs are casting a shadow over the majority living in the Global South. Prashad (2023: np) adds his voice in scathing terms:

The total social wealth on the planet is extraordinary, although ... this wealth is simply not used to generate solutions for common problems, but to aggrandise the fortunes of the few ... ways should be sought to prevent the world’s billions from going beyond a system that extracts their social labour and

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promises greatness while delivering the barest minimum of life's possibilities.

In Majumder's (2021: 1) opinion, "economic globalization poses devastating threats to human and other biological life" in that it follows the principles of geo-economic growth by relaxing the boundaries between countries, making it much easier to extract resources in order to expand the growth of international corporations. This new wave of colonialism has an impact, according to her, on many aspects of indigenous life, such as food, water, language, education and even genetics (Majumder, 2021: 2). The advent of the new global economic paradigm has given rise to resource wars in the Global South; rivers and beaches have become contaminated, landscapes have been ruined, villages and townships have been displaced and sharp rises have been recorded in energy prices (Majumder, 2021: 4). Business conducted according to neoliberal market principles also impinges on the rights of workers, especially in the Global South. Even when businesses operate within the law of the country in question, they hire workers on insecure, zero-hour contracts, while paying a legal minimum wage that leaves the workers living below the poverty line (Raworth, 2022: 88).

In response, many 'native communities' have begun changing for themselves the rules of the game by trying to preserve life in its many diverse forms, among other things by challenging the corporate privatisation efforts, asserting the claims of indigenous populations over their land and natural resources and the development of renewable (green) energy (Majumder, 2021: 2). Indigenous communities surviving today in Western countries such as the United States are now also more intent on preserving

their pre-colonial values. It has been found that children raised in rural Native American communities have a deeper and less simplistic understanding of the living world than children growing up in urban centres (Raworth, 2022: 115). In his address to students at the University of Berkeley, Chief Oren Lyons of the Iroquois Onondaga Nation said: “What you call resources we call our relatives. If you can think of relationships, you are going to treat them better, aren’t you? Get back to the relationship because that is your foundation for survival” (Raworth, 2022: 116). People’s movements emerge all over the world to express their grievances against being exploited for capital gain and accumulation for the few at the cost of the poor. They object to anomalies such as the following: the Coca-Cola company, “a major abuser of water and the planet”, sponsoring the 27th Conference of the Parties (COP 27) (Prashad, 2022: np) and the appointment of Doctor Sultan al Jaber, managing director of Abu Dhabi’s national oil company, as the chair of COP 28 (Tempelhof, 2023: 5). Inhabitants of the Global South show resistance to the pressures of neoliberalism and neocapitalism by resorting to activism and rage, and search for healing, love and communality, *inter alia*, with and through education (Urrieta & Calderón, 2019: 147).

Some Western voices have also added their weight to the project of opposing neoliberalism in both hemispheres. Raworth (2022: 103), for instance, has come to the conclusion that the neoliberal view of the human being as *homo economicus* is deeply flawed: “... although human behaviour may vary between societies, one important thing unites humanity: none of us resemble [the] narrow old model of rational economic man.” She rejects the neoliberal depiction of the human being with nature “lying at his feet and at

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his disposal” (Raworth, 2022: 114) and argues that, rather than as at the pinnacle of creation, the human being should be seen as woven deep into nature’s web, as embedded in the living world, not separate from or above it, living within the biosphere, not on the planet (Raworth, 2022: 115). Much can be learnt by Westerners from indigenous theories of relationality with the inanimate, the animate and the rest of humankind (Pochedly, 2016: 53). The African philosophy of ubuntu comes to mind in this context. This line of reasoning about the place and task of the human being in creation ties in with a Biblical anthropology as well. The human being, according to the Bible, is a worldly being, and it should be recognised that this worldliness is connected to the goodness of humanity. As being-in-the-world, the human being has been entrusted with a cultural or creation mandate (Gen. 1: 26-28, 2:15), which implies that they should work and live in the world in a sustainable manner (Van der Walt, 2008: 225, 229).

2.5 Voices questioning the ‘war’ on the Western values undergirding the second wave of colonisation

There are not many voices intent on defending the practice of colonisation, especially the effects thereof on the colonised (a Google search with the keywords “anti-decolonisation / anti-decolonialism / pro-colonialism” yielded no scholarly [academic] hits.²) The following may explain why this is the case. The history

² Those suspected of defending colonialism could find themselves in troubled waters. In the scholarly (academic) milieu, a historian of

of humankind shows that the tendency to migrate and colonise has always been inherently part of the human condition. Groups of the very first hominids migrated to all parts of the earth and formed enclaves of settlers on practically all the continents and even very small islands. From then on, colonisation continued in waves and began taking on a pattern: a group of migrants settling in a particular area, exploring the surroundings, using the natural resources that they come across (food, iron, copper and ivory, for instance) until such resources become depleted (among other things through hunting, fishing, slash-and-burn agricultural practices and over-population) and the settlers are forced to move along to other areas where they can make a living. In these migration processes, they either colonise other groups of people, absorb them into their own tribe or community, drive them away or even exterminate them. The early settlers and colonisers in time became the indigenous inhabitants of what they came to regard as their homelands (see Murray, 2022: 96). During the 15th century, these homelands were visited by explorers and traders

Portland State University in 2017 published a paper in *Third World Quarterly* titled “The case for colonialism”. Despite the fact that the article was peer-reviewed and approved for publication, there was such a backlash to this article that several members of the editorial board of the journal resigned, the article was withdrawn and an apology published for having published it. Nigel Biggar, an Oxford University professor of history, was also abused for insisting on levelheadedness and historical fairness in the study of colonialism (Murray, 2022: 108-110; also see Gilley, 2017 in the list of references for a link to the article that was withdrawn).

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from powerful European empires and gradually became colonised by these powerful metropolises of the Global North. The initial informal and spontaneous forms of colonisation gradually morphed into deliberate empire-building campaigns by the powerful nations to subject other, less economically and militarily powerful, indigenous communities and occupy their land. The campaigns of Genghis Kahn, Alexander the Great and the Vikings, and since the 15th century, of European nations – to mention only a few – are well known in this regard.

Trade, commerce and the acquisition of land have, through the ages, been powerful driving forces behind colonising campaigns. One should be wary of the naturalistic fallacy in this regard, however; the fact that the drive to expand, dominate and colonise has always been part and parcel of the human condition does not imply that such practices ought to be justified. Too many atrocities have been perpetrated by colonists to condone colonisation or colonialism as a practice. From the earliest times to the most recent, colonialism has been characterised by bloodshed, the extermination of entire communities, internecine wars, corruption, exploitation, false promises, the alienation of people from their land, cultural goods, language and religion, and many more.

The more recent colonising campaigns were most effective due to the availability of very advanced (for the 15th century) technology, namely sophisticated trade and industrial practices developed in the metropole, the construction of large commercial businesses, and ocean-going vessels, well-trained soldiers and sailors, and effective weaponry, to mention a few. Add to this the entrepreneurial spirit of monarchs such as King Henry the Navigator of Portugal and the drive of adventurers such as Marco

Polo, Bartholomew Diaz, Vasco da Gama, Christopher Columbus, Louis Antoine de Bougainville and others to explore the unknown world (as far as the Europeans were concerned), and the table was set for large-scale exploration and settlement. The less sophisticated indigenous inhabitants of what in due course became English, Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese and German settlements and colonies in America, Africa and Asia were not in a position to withstand the might of these great empires. And also, the wares brought to them by the explorers and traders were enticing. As explained above, the exchanges between the colonisers (initially mainly explorers and traders, later soldiers, occupying forces and missionaries) and the indigenous inhabitants brought quite different sets of values into contact. In addition to all these conditions, there were those, especially in the Global North, who strongly believed that they should pursue “civilising missions in the name of democracy and free markets [because] progress and development [could be regarded] as the shibboleths of a modernised, westernised salvation” (Bhabha, 2004: xi). And in due course, globalisation and neoliberal free-market practices were deemed to have created a “landscape of opportunity and choice” for the inhabitants of the Global South (Bhabha, 2004: xi, xii).

The fact that many of the more recent colonising campaigns were done either in the name of Christianity or by Christian missionaries as part of the colonising contingent did not help to soften the impact of the colonising campaigns. In many cases, the conversion of the indigenous inhabitants led to either estrangement from their indigenous religions or to forms of syncretism, that is, mixtures of indigenous religious precepts with

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the tenets of Christianity (see Cox, 2021). In many cases, the good intentions of the missionaries were derailed by the military, as in several South American colonies, or by politicians, as in South Africa with the introduction of separate development, also known as apartheid. In many instances, the measures introduced by the colonisers were in direct contravention of the Biblical injunctions that the missionaries purported to adhere to. The Bible is clear about how other people should be treated. In Galatians 6:10, Paul reminded all followers of Jesus Christ that, when they had the opportunity, to do good to everyone. In James 4:17, the apostle states: “So, whoever knows the right thing to do and fails to do it, for him it is sin.” I Peter 3:11 is also clear: “... turn away from evil and do good: ... seek peace and pursue it” (also see Prov. 14:21; Luke 10:25, 27, 35; Acts 20:35; Rom. 7:19). The literature abounds with evidence that the colonisers of the 15th century, and in the centuries thereafter, in many instances did not demonstrate obedience to these Biblical principles.

In the previous section of this chapter, one could already hear some of the voices attempting to turn the tables on the West or the Global North, in return (even revenge or retribution) for its actions during the two waves of colonialism for, among other things, the “horrors of the past, ... connections to empire and the slave trade, homophobia, and the crimes of primogeniture” (Murray, 2022: 9-10). Without actually attempting to defend the colonisation projects of the Global North or the West in the recent past, Murray (2022: 1-3, 9-11) seems to feel that the turning of the tables on the West is unfair and unjustifiable. I quote his argument in extenso:

In recent years it has become clear that there is a war going on: a war on the West... It is a cultural war, and it is being

waged remorselessly against all the roots of the Western tradition and against everything that is good that the Western tradition has produced... It is only in recent years, when the fruits of this movement have come into plain sight, that its scale has become clear. There is an assault going on against everything to do with the Western world – its past, present and future. Part of that process is that we have become locked in a cycle of unending punishment. With no serious effort (or even consideration for) its alleviation... People talked of Europe's having a historic debt... Would there ever be a moment when this Western "debt" would be repaid? Because it seemed that every year the debt was not being paid down but was increasing. I also began to notice that the same story was playing out across every country that counted as Western... Everywhere, societies that counted as "Western" (that is, European countries or countries descended from European civilization) experienced the same pattern of arguments. Nowhere that wasn't Western got any such treatment. The arguments [are] being made not out of love for the [Western] countries in question but out of a barely disguised loathing for them. In the eyes of many people, not least within their own populations, these countries appeared to have done something wrong. Something for which they must atone. The West was the problem. The dissolving of the West was a solution... Critics of Western civilization do provide alternatives. They venerate every culture so long as it is not Western. For instance, all native thought and cultural expression are to be celebrated, just so long as that native culture is not Western... There are many curiosities in all this. Not the least of them is that while the West is assaulted for everything it has done wrong, it now gets no credit for having

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got anything right. In fact, these things – including the development of individual rights, religious liberty, and pluralism – are held against it... The culture that gave the world lifesaving advances in science, medicine, and a free market that has raised billions of people around the world out of poverty and offered the greatest flowering of thought anywhere in the world is interrogated through a lens of the deepest hostility and simplicity (Murray, 2022: 1-3).

Murray continues:

All aspects of the Western tradition now suffer the same attack. The Judeo-Christian tradition that formed the cornerstone of the Western tradition finds itself under particular assault and denigration. But so does the tradition of secularism and the Enlightenment, which produced a flourishing in politics, sciences and the arts. And this has consequences. A new generation does not appear to understand even the most basic principles of free thought and free expression. Indeed, these are themselves portrayed as products of European Enlightenment and attacked by people who don't understand how or why the West came to the settlements that it did over religion. Nor how the prioritizing of the scientific method allowed people around the world untold improvements in their lives. Instead, these inheritances are criticized as examples of Western arrogance, elitism, and undeserved superiority. As a result, everything connected with the Western tradition is being jettisoned (Murray, 2022: 9-11).

Murray (2022: 11) concludes his argument by stating that this war against the Global North is being carried out on many platforms, including through education systems, from as early as preschool.

It is clear from the discussion in this section, and in the previous one, that Citizenship Education teachers are now standing on the cusp of a war – a war referred to by Majumder (2021) as a “paradigm war”, as seen from the perspective of the inhabitants of the Global South, and a “war on the West”, as seen from the perspective of analysts such as Murray (2022) in the Global North. This now raises the following question:

2.6 The way forward: Can the values divide between the West and the Global South be bridged?

Taken at face value, the two value systems – that of the West (the Global North) and that of the Global South – seem to be mutually exclusive in many ways. The former, in particular, according to some of the views proffered above, seems to be regarded as a threat to the value systems and ways of life of the people of the Global South. This does not, however, prevent us from attempting to reach a compromise between these two sets of opposing views. What is required is critical border thinking in terms of which physical as well as mental borders can be demystified (Vanyoro, 2019: 2/4), thereby allowing the opposing parties to move towards a more ‘central’ position, towards a point of sustainable equilibrium. Gloria Anzaldúa (1999: 109) reminds us that “awareness of our situation must come before inner changes, which in turn come before changes in society. Nothing happens in the ‘real world’ unless it first happens in the images in our heads”. We need “alternative thinking about alternatives” (Anzaldúa, 1999: 109), a way of thinking rooted in the notion that cultural completeness is impossible and, therefore, in need of enrichment through conversation and interaction with coexisting and even

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conflicting positions in order to develop possibilities for an emancipatory process. A process of mutual learning has to be initiated across the divide between the inhabitants of the Global North and the Global South (Keating, 2019: 142). The borders between the two positions should be “undone”, says Zamora (2016: 68), and this undoing should be both a material and an epistemological action. Theorising new ways of knowing is essential to undo the psychological damage of both waves of coloniality. Through conversation and discussion, a compromise can be reached that may dampen the tensions, ambiguities and contradictions between the two sides, thereby working towards new local ways of knowing, with transformative effects. Such a compromise between the value configurations of the Global North and the Global South is necessary because all the inhabitants of the earth now live together in a globalised context. The reality of the here-and-now is all that all the inhabitants of the earth have. They, therefore, need to develop mutual understanding and empathy with others’ indigeneity, culture, background, religion and customs. This needs to be done, as Pochedly (2016: 55) advises, “for inclusive and equitable reasons, to build and heal relationships between all people”. It should be done for the mutual benefit of all.

The following could arguably be the basics of such a compromise. A particular person (say, an educationist or an educator), irrespective of their time-space orientation, could, on the one hand, adopt a global outlook, intent on being informed about and understanding current affairs around the globe and determined to make a difference in the world. At the same time, they could be aware of the constantly growing real-world crises, such as global

inequality, climate change (see Raworth, 2022: 1) and the misgivings in the Global South about Western values. The compromise characterised by this dual orientation could enable the person in question to understand and deal with the multidimensional challenges of the 21st century – issues ranging from financial instability to food insecurity and climate change – in brief, all the issues that concern specifically the inhabitants of the Global South (see Raworth, 2022: 3). They should also be willing and prepared to contribute to the solution of such global crises. The point of the compromise is for them to be ready to pay attention to the needs of all of the earth's inhabitants, not only those of the Global North or only those of the Global South. They should refuse to ignore or gloss over the issues of both the North and the South that rightminded people should be concerned about. On the contrary, they should be prepared to keep humanity's long-term goals in mind and then seek out the economic, social, moral and pedagogical thinking that would enable them to achieve these. Their basic stance should be to try to meet the needs of all the people on the planet within the means of the planet. Their guiding phrase could be, as Raworth (2022: 55) suggests, “human prosperity in the flourishing web of life”.

The compromise, as tentatively outlined above, is a complex phenomenon that will undeniably be very difficult to bring about. It might even be impossible to reach a compromise if both sides associated themselves with the conflict theory and, hence, adopted a hard line in the conviction that there was no unified central value system that they could share (Barrett, 2009: 111). Despite such difficulties, the protagonists on the two sides of the divide should endeavour to find a way to handle the situation or

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conflict, physically and philosophically, thereby creating a new order (Plotnitsky, 2006: 47). They should understand that they are dealing with a heterogeneous yet interactive space of relationships where differences, similarities and interactions are at work. They should also take into consideration that reaching a possible compromise will not be a linear, mechanical and predictable process, driven by inherent social equilibrating forces. Single-factor descriptions or outlines of the compromise (to be) reached will be found inadequate (Dekker, Cilliers & Hofmeyr, 2011: 2).

The complexity theory regards an outcome such as a compromise between these two already complex positions as emerging from an intricate network of causal interactions (Dekker et al., 2011: 2). A compromise of the sort described above is complex in that it can be described as sets of interdependent parts and influences that together have to make up a new whole – the compromise – which, in turn, is interdependent on some larger environment, for instance the social, cultural, moral and economic environment in which education takes place (Anderson, 1999: 216). Because so many stakeholders, with their aspirations, assumptions, interconnections and feedback loops, are involved, it is impossible to describe a compromise in simple reductionist terms. Complex patterns and systems (such as a compromise between two diametrically opposed positions) can emerge from the interaction of a variety of agents who follow relatively simple rules. A compromise, as a complex system, when it is reached, could exhibit “self-organising behaviour” in that, although commencing in a random state, it evolves towards order instead of disorder (Anderson, 1999: 218). According to Plotnitsky (2006: 52), each of

the differences, similarities and interactions at play in the situations “becomes more or less crucial at different conceptual, historical, or cultural junctures. It is a dynamic space-time or a sea of energy of thought, a space at the end of chaos...”

In the final analysis, according to Dekker et al. (2011: 4), the compromise, as a complex system involving many agents and their interests, is held together by local relationships, in other words, by the people involved, at grassroots level. When the new system, the compromise, is in place and effective, each component thereof is agnostic of the behaviour of the entire system and cannot even know the full impact and influences of its own actions. The various components of the system respond locally to the information presented to them or that is available to them, and complexity arises from the huge, multiplied webs of relationships and interactions that result from all these local actions. Finally, the boundaries of what constitutes the system become fuzzy; interdependencies and interactions multiply and mushroom. The following quip by Deleuze and Guattari (1994: 201-202) is appropriate in this context: “We require just a little order to protect us from chaos.” Sacks (2011: 293) concurs: “Disagreement is how knowledge grows. Living with disagreement is how we grow.”

A compromise between opposing parties meeting each other halfway is complex due to unpredictable emergent behaviour, adaptive over time, dynamic and characterised by transient behaviour; it self-organises and evolves, and creates diversity, not uniformity (Raworth, 2022: 141). So, there is every chance that a compromise struck between Western neoliberal, neocapitalist values and the indigenous values of a particular community in the

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Global South could itself be compromised due to the interplay of all the factors mentioned above. What I have been doing in this section was, in essence, to embrace dynamic analysis.

A part of the compromise proposed above between the proponents of Western neoliberal values and of the indigenous values of a Global South community, as a relatively stable system, is the type of education, in particular citizenship education and Citizenship Education associated with it. The next section contains a discussion of the implications of the proposed compromise for citizenship education as a broad academic field of study and for Citizenship Education as a school subject in both the Global North and the Global South.

2.7 Implications of the compromise between the two sets of values for citizenship education or Citizenship Education on both sides of the divide

Bhabha (2004: xi) correctly asks in what way the colonised (irrespective of which wave colonised them) can become a “figure of instruction for our global century”. He also asks:

What forms of unhappy consciousness prevail among the colonized [irrespective of which wave, one could again add] who feel threatened on all sides? ... How do the oppressed [again, irrespective of wave] discover the enduring strength to found a free and just society, a national consciousness, if they are continually aware of their own anxiety and fragility? (Bhabha, 2004: xi)

The question remains: Where and how do the inhabitants of the earth, both in the Global South and in the Global North, position

themselves with respect to citizenship education and Citizenship Education? Should those in the Global South uncritically go along with the geo-economic values of globalisation and neoliberalism or neocapitalism, or should they aspire to a return to their indigenous values, which are, in many ways, still residing in their colonised mentality? Or should they adopt the compromise position mooted in the previous section?

In view of the call in the previous section of this chapter for a compromise to be reached between Western and Global South values, a tentative answer to these questions could be as follows: The citizenship educationist and Citizenship Education teacher may consider adopting, on the one hand, the outlook of a global citizen, intent on knowing and understanding current affairs around the globe and determined to make a difference in the world, while, on the other hand, they also could be aware of the constantly growing real-world crises, such as global inequality, climate change and the misgivings in the Global South about Western values. As Henry Louis Gates Jr said, the only way to transcend these divisions is to forge a “civic culture that respects both differences and commonalities”, and the only way this can be done is “through education that seeks to comprehend the diversity of human culture” (as quoted in Murray, 2020: 272). Ali (2016: 8) concurs in saying that education should assist learners to account for the complexities of globalisation. Jansen (2017: np) agrees that the notions of “centre versus periphery”, “North versus South”, “the West and the rest”, “white and black” and “settler and native” are too simplistic.

The focus should be not only on individuals and their respective subjectivities but also on locations and institutions, and on

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economic concerns. Teachers' resolve should be to develop a new set of values that embrace both Western values and the indigenous values of the learners' communities and, subsequently, to offer instruction in Citizenship Education based on that new value system. The knowledge imparted in Citizenship Education should also speak of the Global South condition. Jansen (2017: np) seems to agree with this compromise solution in stating that as far as possible, all curricula should be strengthened with knowledge from the Global South alongside knowledge from the West (the Global North). Educators and learners should be encouraged to talk to one another, thereby gaining an understanding of the broader world of knowledge. Of course, much will depend on Citizenship Education curriculum development in the higher echelons of the education system. In the end, however, the success of the teaching and learning in Citizenship Education in the classroom will depend on the ability of the teacher, as educator, to bring his or her learners to a deep and lasting understanding of the value compromise referred to above.

The compromise referred to in Section 6 of this chapter should also be as stable as possible in order to form a strong foundation for education in general, and citizenship education and Citizenship Education in particular, in both the Global North and the Global South. One of the ways to promote its stability and robustness is to steward and nurture it. For the compromise to become and remain an effective foundation for an equitable and fair existence of all, and in particular for citizenship education and Citizenship Education, it has to comply with three conditions. It should be stewarded to develop a healthy structure (all parts of it serving all

other parts optimally), to efficiently self-organise (able to make its different parts even more efficient in order to meet the needs and requirements of all involved) and to be resilient (able to endure and bounce back) in even the most adverse conditions (Raworth, 2022: 159). The task and duty of nurturing this compromise clearly fall on the administrators of the education system, and in particular on the designers of the curriculum for Citizenship Education as a school subject. Teachers (educators) in the classroom and on the schoolgrounds should also do their part in promoting the stability of the compromise as a complex system. They can do so by developing a good understanding of their own (and their learners') geo-political and body-political orientation – the fact of living in two worlds, as it were – when teaching the subject of Citizenship Education and by following the ethics demanded by the compromise position referred to above.

Education, and Citizenship Education in particular, should be about pluralising the future by pluralising the knowledges in the present for the purpose of producing a better, more honest and wider range of options for learners (and thus the broader society beyond the school fences) – both material and normative – to choose from (Shajahan, Ramirez & De Oliveira Andreotti, 2017: s67-s68). Citizenship Education based on the proposed compromise will enable educators to move away from a one-size-fits-all approach; it will prompt them to accept that the interests of the various communities represented in a class will most likely not converge or be in alignment. Educators (teachers), therefore, will be required to display a nuanced understanding of the various interests at play regarding a particular (sensitive) topic being taught in class (Calderón, 2014: 90). The establishment of the

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middle ground – the compromise between the two sets of values – will help educators to refrain from attempting to co-opt any group, large or small, into a dominant view or from adopting a “one-dimensional flat discourse” (Calderón, 2014: 93). It will also enable educators and their learners not to summarily reject the values associated with globalisation, neoliberalism and neocapitalism but to evaluate them critically, and subsequently, attempt to ameliorate and dampen their impact with infusions of their own indigenous values. How those parts of citizenship education that deal with issues such as economic growth, globalisation, the role of the consumer, and so on, will be formulated for use in a particular education system or classroom will depend to a significant degree on the curriculum developer’s view of how human beings should live on earth and how they should make use of its resources, in other words, which value system they entertain. What all of this means, according to Anangisyé (2019: interview), is that a contextually differentiated curriculum for Citizenship Education has to be developed in order to empower different citizens and their communities to take ownership of the curriculum content and to make the contents appealing to the learners, thereby promoting effective teaching and learning in schools.

One of the new positions to be adopted in both citizenship education and Citizenship Education pertains to the position of the human being in reality. In line with what has been said above about the role and place of the human being in creation, there should be a shift in perspective from regarding the human being as at the pinnacle of creation and having all the resources of the earth at his or her disposal to do with them as he or she wishes, to viewing

the human being as part of the web of creation and, therefore, called upon to recognise and respect the intrinsic value of the living world. Human beings should begin to care and act, not just for themselves and other people but also in the interests of the entire ecosystem.

The Biblically founded anthropology outlined towards the end of Section 4 of this chapter should form the pivotal point of citizenship education as broad academic field of study and of Citizenship Education as a new, re-formed school subject for schools to teach in both hemispheres. This anthropology can enable educators (teachers) to concentrate, at the very least, on the following five acts that can promote human wellbeing: to teach and guide learners to be able to and, indeed, connect with the people around them to see them as people and not as consumers or ways to make profit from; to be active in their own bodies, to do things for themselves and for others without expecting anything in return, monetary or otherwise; to take notice of the world around them, including the upsides and the darker sides of globalisation and of world economics; to learn new skills so that they can provide not only in their own needs but also in the needs of all other human beings, near and far; and lastly, to freely give to others, to share willingly and to eschew the natural human inclination to be only intent on gain and profit.

2.8 Conclusion

One of the many ways at our disposal to bring the proposed compromise between the value systems of the Global South and the Global North – the West – home to the upcoming generations is Citizenship Education as a school subject. This subject is one

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of the pertinent ways of embodying this new attitude, based on the proposed compromise regarding nature and creation in general in every school and classroom, of bringing home to the learners, and hence, to the wider community beyond the school fences, an understanding that it is the living world's systems that make life on earth possible. The solution lies, as with so many other things in life, in structure and balance, and in reciprocal goodwill between North and South, and how this goodwill is reflected in the educational context.

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